1: Karsten--80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
609, 753 (1928-29)

"Knowing that fear of 'disease' which is particularly characteristic of the Jibaros, I was surprised at the unprejudiced attitude which the Aguarunas assumed towards me and my Indian companions. It may have been because they realized at once that we came from afar and not from any disease-stricken village inhabited by the whites. On the whole I was lucky during this expedition. If I had not encountered these Indians on the river by chance, it would have been very difficult for us to find the way to the region inhabited by the Indians alone. The friendly attitude of the Aguarunas was due to particular reasons. During the last years they had waged war against the Huambizas living between the Morona and the Santiago. They were closely related to these Indians, it is true, but this fact did not by any means prevent the two tribes from being mortal enemies. On the contrary, it is a peculiarity of the Jibaros that precisely the different sub-tribes wage sanguinary wars against one another. Exactly at the time when we visited them the Aguarunas were fearing an attack of the Huambizas. This fear may have been exaggerated. But the consequence of it was that at any rate for the time they wished to live in peace with the whites, who might even help them in the event of a hostile attack of their own tribesmen. As to the Canelos Indians whom I had with me, they had no fear of them. But there is no saying what would have happened if I had visited them in the company of real Jibaro Indians from Ecuador!"

1: Karsten--270-271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753, 627, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft (tunchi) and disease (súngura). The illness of a patient is generally attributed to witchcraft when it consists in violent pains in some part of the body, especially when the pain is accompanied by swelling of that part. Thus, for instance, headache, rheumatic pains, and colic are ascribed to witchcraft. On the other hand, to the category 'disease' (súngura) the Jibaros set down especially such illnesses as have originally been brought to them by the whites and which are not particularly accompanied by pains, like dysentery, smallpox, and most other fevers. Now, if somebody has 'brought sickness', i.e., contagion, to the house of another Jibaro so that some member of the family falls ill and dies; that person is also exposed to the revenge of the relatives. They are perhaps ready to admit that he has not caused the evil intentionally, but this circumstance does not free him from responsibility and from the obligation of at least paying a material compensation for the positive loss he has caused to the family which through him has been deprived of a useful member. In a case like this, therefore, compensation may occur instead of blood revenge. In the same way the Indian is apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases also where the evil has not been caused wilfully--for instance, when somebody in a state of drunkenness or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause [271] of another person's death. If, on the other hand, the doer refuses to pay compensation, blood-revenge is likely to be carried out

against him.

Again, in cases where the evil intention is prominent, the moral indignation aroused by the deed is so much the greater, and particularly witchery is regarded as so grave and unpardonable a crime, that it can be atoned for by blood only."

"The Jibaro Indian, however, makes a definite distinction between what he calls 'witchcraft' (tunchi) and 'disease' (súngura). Tunchi, properly speaking, signifies the 'arrow' or small material object which the sorcerers throw at their enemies. The illness caused by it is particularly an Indian evil; upon a white man it would not have any effect. The Jibaros even declare that white people do not at all comprehend the thing that the Indians call witchcraft. The symptoms of this mysterious evil are, however, quite characteristic. When the Indian's whole body aches or he feels intense pains in some particular part of it, and especially if the pains are accompanied by a swelling of the corresponding part of the body and the evil strikes him quite suddenly, he is convinced that he has been bewitched. Head-ache and rheumatic pains--what we call 'fairy dart' etc.--suppurating wounds, colic accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, painful diseases of the heart and the liver, are typical instances of evils caused by witchcraft. Feverish diseases are generally referred to the category súngura. However, the malarial fever, although it is not connected with pains, is frequently set down to witchcraft. When among the Jibaros of the Rio Upano, whose land is comparatively healthy, a case of malarial fever occurs, the Indians declare that this evil is sent to them by the sorcerers among their enemies, the Achuares on the Rio Pastaza, who live in a malaria-stricken country.

Although the tunchi, when let off against a person by a sorcerer, or extracted from

the body of a patient by a medicine-man, always appears in the shape of some material object, yet it is at the same time regarded as a living demoniacal being. If death follows in consequence of sorcery, this demon is conceived of as a real iguánchi, who at the same time is vaguely identified with the soul of the sorcerer from whom it proceeds. [395]The demon of the tunchi at once begins its work of destruction in the body, and if it is allowed to complete it, that is to say, if no other medicine-man is able to drive it out and to extract the tunchi, the patient is bound to die. After his death the demon remains in the body and tries to lay hold of his soul as well, the latter being then identified with the demon that caused death. This is the reason why the departed are so often feared as revengeful spirits, even when they were, perhaps, respected and loved in life: it is the spirit of disease and death that the Indians fear, the demon being supposed to look for fresh victims among the surviving relatives."

1: Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

"On the other hand, in the category 'disease' (súngura) most illnesses are reckoned which are not particularly connected with pains and which the Indians have learnt to know through the whites; first of all fever and infectious diseases such as small-pox, scarlet-fever, dysentery, and venereal disease. Whereas the Indian medicine-men are often able to cure witchcraft sent by other medicine-men, they are completely powerless against 'disease' imported by the whites. Thus when an epidemic of small-pox--a disease that has at times made terrible ravages among the natives of South America--breaks out in an Indian village, the inhabitants generally see no other way to rid themselves of the evil than to burn and abandon the whole village, or at least to leave it for some time. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand the anxiety with which the Indians always, when a strange white man arrives, ask whether he 'brings disease' with him (súngura itáches?). A traveller who falls seriously ill while staying in an Indian house incurs great danger. If the Indians feel sufficiently strong they may kill him; if not, they will at least go off and leave him alone in the house. The first visit of white men among Indians living in unexplored parts of the country is, for the same reason, particularly critical: the Indians think that the strange new-comers infect their houses and villages by their mere presence. By their personal contact as well as by their clothes, their medicines, and the many other mysterious things that they bring with them they are believed to spread germs of death-bringing diseases.

1; Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

Just as the evil of witchcraft is caused by a demoniacal being, perhaps a death-bringing iguánchi, so 'disease' (súngura) is also caused by a spirit, namely, the spirit of a white man. The Jibaros, however, can say nothing more particularly about this disease and death spirit, and they know no other way of protecting themselves against his visits than by trying to avoid him."

1; Karsten--396 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"Although the category 'disease' nowadays chiefly comprises illnesses that have been introduced by the whites, there is also a kind of súngura which is endemic among the Indians and which they have thus known before the white man arrived. This kind of súngura arises directly from their own evil iguánchi. Such a case of 'disease' came under my notice among the Indians of Arapicos, where several young persons and children had been attacked by an insidious fever, apparently epidemical, which made them slowly pine away. The demons always outdo living men, even the most experienced sorcerers, as senders of supernatural evils. The medicine-men, therefore, generally profess their inability to cure the kind of súngura which is sent by the iguanchi."

1: Karsten--396 [2]
116, 753

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Although 'disease' (súngura) does not directly arise from the sorcerers, they are still supposed to have a certain influence even upon this evil. They are, for instance, believed to be able, by means of their magical arrows and imprecations, to cause an epidemic, raging in a village, not to cease or leave the place, but remain stationary there, gradually exterminating its inhabitants. Thus when the village of Puyo, situated at a small affluent of upper Pastaza, was visited by a ravaging epidemic of dysentry in 1918, the Indians declared that the disease had certainly been brought to their village by the whites, but that its unusually obstinate character was due to the magic art of the famous sorcerer Palati at Canelos, who wanted to annihilate his avowed enemies the Puyo Indians. There is thus practically no evil and no kind of illness for which the Indians are not able to blame, in one way or another, their enemies, the sorcerers of other families or tribes."

1: Karsten--396-397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"THE CANELOS INDIANS make exactly the same distinction between what they call chunta (magic arrow) or nanai ('pain', 'evil', caused by the chunta) and ungüi, 'disease', originally introduced by the whites. As to the latter the Canelos Indians, who have at times suffered terribly from small-pox and other epidemic diseases, have much more realistic ideas than the wild Jibaros. 'Disease', they say, enters their villages in the shape of a white man, 'carrying a bag on his shoulders'. He may be a real man or only a spirit; in any case he is believed to bring illness. 'Disease' knocks at the door of an Indian hut, and when some one goes to open it for him, the spirit will 'catch' him (ungüi hápin). One Indian having thus been caught, the relentless strange demon will look for more victims among the rest. Hence, when in one way or other the Indians have got the idea that 'Disease' is approaching their village--for instance when a party of white men are arriving--the [397] women start to cry loudly and lament just as they do when mourning for the dead. In this way, they believe, 'Disease' will be frightened away or anyhow induced to retrace his steps and leave the inhabitants in peace. This idea explains the strange welcome, consisting of ceremonial crying and lamentation, which white travellers sometimes receive when arriving at Indian villages. Again, when a contagious disease, for instance an epidemic of small-pox, breaks out in a place, the inhabitants generally see no other way of ridding themselves of the unwelcome guest than by leaving it and migrating to another part of the country. In such

cases they are in the habit of blocking up the path along which they go with sticks and branches of trees, 'in order that the disease spirit may not be able to follow in their footsteps.'"

1: Karsten--397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

"Disease, and especially death, are to the Indians the great sources of taboo. The precautions which are considered necessary after a death will be related later on. Here it may be proper to add that disease or sickness of any kind is supposed to pollute a house to such extent that at any rate the Canelos Indians deem it necessary for the nearest relatives of the patient to fast. After the medicine-man has taken natéma to discover the origin of the sickness he generally gives the relatives certain instructions in this respect. The father, mother, brothers, and sisters of the patient are not allowed to eat salt or Indian pepper during the two first days after the member of the family fell ill. The patient himself is allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc plantain and certain small fish called umbúni, tugshi, chuti, shigli, and challúa in the Quichua language. When the sick person is near death, the relatives too can only eat boiled and mashed plantain. When the patient is recovering, he is by and by allowed to eat small birds (shot with unpoisoned arrows) and thereafter certain other kinds of meat. The big sheat-fish (sungarápu) is strictly forbidden to a sick person because the whiskers of this fish are often used by sorcerers when bewitching people.

Only the nearest relatives of the patient are obliged to observe these rules, because of the mysterious connection which is supposed to unite all members of a family. If these eat some unsuitable food it will according to the belief of the Indians, necessarily react upon the patient whose condition will be made worse. Other more distant relatives

or strange people, who happen to stay in the same house, are not obliged to fast."

1: Karsten--397-398 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros,...at any rate those living on the Upano [398] and Santiago, do not consider it necessary to diet on account of a case of sickness, but only after a death. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, however, a person bitten by a venomous snake must avoid exciting spice like Indian pepper, and strong drinks. The latter, besides this, also in such cases abstain from eating salt and manioc, which according to their assertion would render the recovery more difficult for the patient."

2: Stirling--116-117 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 628

"In discussing the matter of shamanism it is necessary to understand something of the background of the system of blood revenge as practiced by the Jivaros, because many shamanistic practices result directly or indirectly from this basic custom. The Jivaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft and ordinary disease. If a man is afflicted with localized pains in some part of the body the trouble is attributed to witchcraft. However, there are a number of ailments, particularly those which have been brought to the Indians by the whites, which are looked upon as natural ailments.

If someone brings sickness to the house of a Jivaro so that a member of the family becomes ill and dies, that person is considered responsible for the death and is liable to blood revenge by the relatives of the victim. They may be willing to admit that the disease was not brought intentionally, but this does not excuse the responsibility. However, where the culprit is not considered morally liable, in most instances he may free himself from the blood revenge system by paying compensation to the family of the person who has died.

In the same way the Jivaros are apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases where the crime has not been caused willfully, as for example, when someone in a state of intoxication or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause of another person's death. However, in any of these instances, if the [117] evildoer refuses to pay to compensation asked, he becomes liable to blood revenge."

2: Stirling--118 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753

"The first of these spirits [KS: disease spirits] is Minura, the spirit of the cashpa, or ray fish. This is the strongest of all of the disease spirits and consequently the most difficult for the wishinu to remove. In order to call Minura, the sasango leaves are waved persistently after the wishinu has taken natima, during which time he calls upon the spirit by name, asking him to come forth. He sings songs addressed to the spirit, meanwhile playing upon the small shaman's drum."

2. Stirling--119 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"The second of the disease spirits is called Amaron. This is the spirit controlled by napi, the snake. He is called out in cases of snake bite or other poisonous bites of similar nature. The method of treatment is exactly the same as in the case of Minura, excepting that this spirit responds more easily and the wishinu does not have to work so hard nor so long. The songs which are used in calling are, of course, special songs to Amaron. In addition to the magical treatment, the patient who has been made sick by Amaron is also given an enema of crushed red pepper. The wishinu fills his mouth with the fiery liquid and by means of a bamboo tube blows it forcibly into the rectum of the patient. In order to send Amaron into the body of anyone he deisres the wishinu goes into the forest and calls the spirit in the same manner as described for Minura, using, of course, the appropriate songs."

2: Stirling--119[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 842

"The third disease spirit is Yabi. This spirit is described as appearing but rarely. It is said to have no face and is 'like a door.' The wishinu in calling it addresses it as a door, calling upon it to open. Yabi causes barrenness in women. The method of procedure in controlling this spirit is the same in general as the others.

A fourth spirit is Chingi. This spirit is controlled by the toucan (Tsucanga) and by the woodpecker (Tatash). All stomach troubles are caused by Chingi. The beak of the bird pecks at the entrails, thus producing the illness."

2: Stirling--119-120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"All localized aches and pains in various parts of the body other than in the stomach are caused by a fifth disease spirit known as [120] Morovi. This spirit is possessed by the night-bird which the Jivaros call by the same name. The treatment of these sicknesses is as before described. When the wishinu wishes to send the spirits of Chingi or Morovi to someone else he goes into the forest and calls them by blowing tobacco. Such parts of the forest are selected as are known to be occupied by the birds which represent the spirit.

The sixth disease spirit is Tunchi, the spirit of the biting insects, such as ants. This spirit produces all rashes, itches, and skin eruptions. Tunchi is controlled by the wishinu in a similar manner to the other spirits."

2: Stirling--120 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753

"Not all diseases are caused by spiritual invasion. Colds, fever, dysentery, and others are regarded as natural sicknesses in which no spirit is involved. The Jivaros are very much afraid of contagious diseases. Whenever a man develops a cough or symptoms of some contagion the other Indians abandon the house and disappear into the bush, where they will have no contact with him. In the same way, they will avoid all persons who have been in contact with the sick person after he contracted his illness."

4: Up de Graff--197-198 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 753, 152

"While preparing our canoe to cross to our new home, Game happened to pull up his trousers to scratch a bite. His leg was a mass of old scars made by the constant scratching of sand-fly and mosquito bites during the first weeks of our expedition. Many of them had been reopened and were infected, the result being a nasty mess resembling a rash. One sight of his leg, and a general stampede set in. The whole tribe disappeared. In a moment it became clear to us that they feared the small-pox scourge.

It was with the greatest difficulty that I persuaded the chief to return to within a few yards, from which distance he could be shown that Game was not a victim of the disease; we had to make a long practical demonstration to convince him, but at last he summoned his [198] people to return and we made across to the island."

12: Rivet--601-602 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 753, 276

A superstitious practice observed at Macas, and perhaps generally, shows the importance the savage attaches to remaining always in a perfect state of training. Believing that when he has sold his blowgun to a white man he has lost the strength of his lungs, he submits to the follow operation in order to regain it: he takes a bamboo tube 20 to 25 cm. long and 2 1/2 cm. in diameter, stuffs it with tobacco, and lights it. A friend places the lighted end in his mouth and blows hard into the tube. The smoke which comes out in abundance from the other end is swallowed by the patient who, with his mouth wide open, is seated opposite the apparatus (fig. 21). [602] Soon the sufferer falls narcotized, with abundant vomiting and in a real state of prostration, but a few hours later, he feels well and thinks he has recovered the power of his breath.

13: Rivet--251 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 164, 753

Illnesses are rare, because of the robustness of the individuals and the healthy life that they lead, and, as the savages say, thanks to the daily washing of the stomach. Against smallpox, which so often burst out in deadly epidemics in Christians' settlements, the Indians know only one remedy, dispersion and abandonment of the sick. The Aguarunas, however, take care of their sick in little houses separated from the communal habitation.(1)

---

1. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 81.

26: Brüning--68-69 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 753, 827

In general, the Aguaruna Indians seem to be healthy. In the case of sickness, a small hut is erected far from the settlement at a solitary site in the forest, and here the sick person remains until he recovers or dies. This is the information obtained from the rubber collectors. I have not been able to get any information as to nursing practices.

The Indians are most afraid of coughing and bloody diarrhea. The rubber collectors have constantly warned us of coughing, as the Indians would withdraw if they heard us cough. We had one experience with this on our downstream voyage on the Marañón. We had been told that in the Indian settlement Chipe we would be able to barter some chickens, bananas, and yucca. As we were just about to land, [69] we heard shouting; the women took up their children and fled with them into their houses; the man talked with unfriendly gesticulations, and we were forced to continue our voyage, without knowing the cause for the Chipe reception. None of our three crewmen knew one word of Spanish. When we met some Indians later, Indians who knew a little Spanish, we were told that the chief of the rubber collectors had spread the rumor that we were sick and had the coughing. This rubber collector was very jealous and wanted to preserve his autocracy in that territory; thus he did everything to keep outsiders away. This was perhaps one reason why he did not teach any Spanish to the Indians.

28: Tessman--357 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 753

Magic is believed to be responsible for death caused by undetermined inner diseases and for death as a result of old age. All other deaths, deaths through drowning, snake-bite, wild animals, and accidents are regarded either as magic or as natural. According to Karsten (The Religion, etc., p. 310) the Makas Indians distinguish between sicknesses caused by magic and straight sicknesses (sungura). Karsten is not too clear on this point. On page 309 he states that there is no natural death, on page 310 he says there is, though only in isolated cases, a normal death caused by old age in addition to the magic death. It seems to me that the Makas Indians attributed magic qualities to such deaths as were caused by unknown inner diseases (this included blood-poisoning).

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

highland province of Azuay in the 1930's, many more Jívaro families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jívaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic effects of disease upon the interior Jívaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth century among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jívaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the elderly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by Jívaro coming back from Peru." The Jívaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jívaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jivaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

756 776 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 554 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to [431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material [177] valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shotguns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tsuwaspā*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 776 554 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*) and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam* soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[6] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakarma*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *nunash* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *nunash* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jivaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*tsawa*), normally of an epidemic nature,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply
"a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will
to help others to deal with the forces that influence and
even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jivaro shamans (*untsiin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
787 Jivaro name is *natemá*, in order to enter the supernatural
[824] world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[756] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of
the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jivaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yabi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemá* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushrooms.

Shamans prefer to use *natemá* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
828

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemă*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance, does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemă* drink among the Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemă*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is attributed to Tsuni, the mythological first shaman who is believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is described as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nantară*) which are

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemä*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemä*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiči*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [592] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during
181 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
556 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables," especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.